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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596
854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts. They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

As their six years of schooling advance, children become progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to the standards which are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 858 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 883 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 577 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή). [152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is [593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes increasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conversation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community.

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
624 role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[1] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how â father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[1] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

3: Kabbadias--190 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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exercised by the family.

[113] 39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XX^e Siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

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(182) Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

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/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

(867) Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But
(626) there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

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114 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
198 present time.

538 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

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53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.